

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NSC-05 ISO-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00 PM-04 INR-07  
L-03 ACDA-07 NSAE-00 PA-01 SS-15 PRS-01 SP-02  
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O 051522Z MAY 77  
FM USMISSION NATO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3440  
SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
USMISSION MBFR VIENNA  
USNMR SHAPE BE  
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GER

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E.O.11652: GDS  
TAGS: PARM, NATO  
SUBJECT: MBFR: DATA DISAGGREGATION: SPC MEETING MAY 5

SUMMARY: AT MAY 5 SPC MEETING ON MBFR, THE DUTCH PRESENTED  
THEIR NEW IDEA FOR A COMPROMISE ON DATA DISAGGREGATION:  
THE WEST WOULD OFFER TO TABLE GROUND MANPOWER DATA ON EACH  
OF ITS DIRECT PARTICIPANTS, BROKEN DOWN INTO "COMBAT ELE-  
MENTS," "SERVICE ELEMENTS" AND "OTHER FORCES," IN RETURN  
FOR SIMILAR EASTERN DATA. ADDING THESE THREE ELEMENTS ELE-  
MENTS FOR EACH DIRECT PARTICIPANT WOULD YIELD ITS NATIONAL  
SUB-TOTAL, BUT NO NATIONAL SUB-TOTAL WOULD ACTUALLY BE  
TABLED BY THE WEST, SO THAT THERE WOULD BE NO TABLED FIGURE  
WHICH THE OTHER SIDE COULD LATER POINT TO AS A BASIS FOR  
NATIONAL SUB-CEILINGS. DUTCH REP ALSO APPEARED IN EFFECT  
TO WITHDRAW DUTCH SUPPORT FOR THE IDEA OF AN UNCLASSIFIED  
NATO DATA PUBLICATION AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO TABLING NATIONAL  
SUB-TOTALS, WHICH LEAVES THE FRG THE ONLY SUPPORTED OF THE  
UNCLASSIFIED PUBLICATION IDEA. FRG REP NOTED CONTINUED FRG  
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SUPPORT FOR THE LATTER IDEA. HE WAS ALSO THE ONLY REP TO  
SAY ON A PERSONAL BASIS THAT HE SAW MERIT IN THE NEW DUTCH  
IDEA FOR BREAKING DOWN THE NATIONAL FIGURES FUNCTIONALLY.  
END SUMMARY.

1. DUTCH REP (MEESMAN) SAID THAT THE DUTCH CONTINUE TO  
SHARE THE MAJORITY VIEW THAT THE BEST COURSE IS FOR THE

ALLIES TO TABLE NATIONAL TOTALS. THE DUTCH DO NOT SEE THE DIFFICULTIES WHICH CERTAIN OTHER DELEGATIONS SEE. HOWEVER, IN THE ABSENCE OF AGREEMENT SO FAR, THE DUTCH WISH TO SEEK COMMON GROUND. A FEW MEETINGS AGO, THE DUTCH HAD SUGGESTED AN UNCLASSIFIED NATO DATA PUBLICATION AS A MEANS OF INTRODUCING NATIONAL TOTALS WITHOUT TABLING THEM. THE DUTCH REALIZE THAT THIS PROPOSAL HAS NOT FOUND APPROVAL.

2. THE DUTCH THEREFORE WISH TO PRESENT A NEW IDEA. THE WEST WOULD PRESENT TO THE EAST A MATRIX IN WHICH EACH DIRECT PARTICIPANT WOULD LIST NOT A NATIONAL SUB-TOTAL FOR ITS FORCES IN THE NGA, BUT RATHER SEPARATE FIGURES FOR ITS COMBAT ELEMENTS, ITS SERVICE ELEMENTS AND ITS "OTHER FORCES" IN THE NGA. THE DUTCH REALIZE THAT THERE IS NO AGREEMENT BETWEEN EAST AND WEST ON DEFINITION OF COMBAT ELEMENTS AND SERVICE ELEMENTS. HOWEVER, THIS SHOULD NOT CONSTITUTE AN IMPEDIMENT, SINCE EAST AND WEST COULD HAVE THE SAME SORT OF DISCUSSION TO DEFINE THESE ELEMENTS AS THEY DID DURING THE COUNTING RULES DISCUSSION IN THE LAST NEGOTIATING ROUND. DUTCH REP EMPHASIZED STRONGLY THAT THIS WAS NOT A FORMAL PROPOSAL, AND WAS NOT VERY ELABORATE, AND THAT OTHER BREAKDOWNS WERE ALSO POSSIBLE. THE DUTCH WOULD INVITE SUGGESTIONS BY OTHERS IF THE BASIC IDEA WAS A GOOD ONE.

3. THE TEXT OF THE DUTCH MATRIX IS AS FOLLOWS. THE WEST WOULD TABLE THE BLANK MATRIX, AND OFFER TO FILL IN DIAGRAM II, IF THE EAST WOULD FILL IN DIAGRAM I. BEGIN TEXT OF DUTCH MATRIX:

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#### DIAGRAM I

- SOVIET SOVIET
- SOVIET FORCES FORCES
- FORCES IN IN
- IN GDR. POLAND. CSSR. GDR. POLAND. CSSR.

COMBAT  
ELEMENTS.

SERVICE  
ELEMENTS.

OTHER  
FORCES.

#### DIAGRAM II - US FORCES

- US IN US IN US IN US IN

- FRG. NL. BELG. LUX.

COMBAT  
ELEMENTS.

SERVICE  
ELEMENTS.

OTHER  
FORCES.

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PRS-01 SP-02 TRSE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 EB-07  
/065 W

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O 051522Z MAY 77  
FM USMISSION NATO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3441  
SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
USMISSION MBFR VIENNA  
USNMR SHAPE BE  
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GER

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DIAGRAM II - NON-US FORCES

- FRG. NL. BELG. LUX. UK. CANADA

COMBAT  
ELEMENTS.

SERVICE  
ELEMENTS.

OTHER  
FORCES.

END TEXT.

4. CANADIAN REP (BARTLEMAN) NOTED THAT CANADA CONTINUES TO SUPPORT THE TABLING OF NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS, AS WELL AS  
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AN EVENTUAL SPC DISCUSSION OF LONGER TERM ASPECTS OF DATA EXCHANGE. HE CRITICIZED THE IDEA OF AN UNCLASSIFIED NATO DATA PUBLICATION ON INSTRUCTIONS. HE STATED THAT THE DUTCH STATEMENT APPEARS TO INDICATE THAT THE NETHERLANDS, WHICH AUTHORED THIS IDEA, NO LONGER SUPPORTS IT. (NOTE: DUTCH REP DID NOT OBJECT TO THIS REMARK. END NOTE.) CANADIAN REP ALSO THOUGHT THAT THE DUTCH PROPOSAL AT THIS MEETING MIGHT BE ASKING THE OTHER SIDE TO PUT DOWN MORE DETAILED DATA THAN THEY WOULD BE WILLING TO DO AS A FIRST STEP. HE ALSO SAW DIFFICULTY IN COMING TO AN AGREEMENT ON DEFINITIONS OF THE FUNCTIONAL ELEMENTS REFERRED TO IN THE DUTCH MATRIX.

5. DUTCH REP REPLIED THAT TABLING NATIONAL DATA IS NOT AN END IN ITSELF, AND THAT WE WILL NEED MORE THAN NATIONAL BREAKDOWNS TO LOCATE THE DISCREPANCIES BETWEEN WESTERN ESTIMATES OF EASTERN DATA AND THE DATA THE EAST HAS TABLED. IF THE OTHER SIDE IS NOT WILLING TO GO FURTHER THAN TABLING NATIONAL DATA, WE WILL NOT BE ABLE TO PROCEED MUCH FURTHER IN THE DATA DISCUSSION, AND THUS THE DUTCH IDEA TESTS THE OTHER SIDE'S WILLINGNESS TO PROCEED FURTHER IN DISCUSSION OF THE DISCREPANCIES.

6. FRG REP (CITRON) APPRECIATED THE CONTINUING DUTCH EFFORT TO FIND COMPROMISES. OTHER DELEGATIONS KNOW THAT THE FRG FAVORS THE IDEA OF AN UNCLASSIFIED NATO DATA PUBLICATION. REGARDING THE IDEA WHICH THE DUTCH REP HAD PRESENTED AT THIS MEETING, FRG REP SAID THAT ON A PERSONAL BASIS HE SAW SOME MERIT IN IT. NATIONAL DATA WAS NOT AN END IN ITSELF, AND FURTHER BREAKDOWNS ARE NEEDED FOR THE DATA DISCUSSION TO PROCEED.

7. ITALIAN REP (SFARA) COULD NOT SEE HOW THE DUTCH PROPOSAL CONSTITUTED A COMPROMISE, SINCE IT WOULD STILL ENTAIL THE TABLING OF NATIONAL DATA. IN ADDITION, IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT FOR THE OTHER SIDE TO DIGEST THIS PROPOSAL.

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DUTCH REP REPLIED THAT THE DUTCH PROPOSAL WAS A COM-

PROMISE, IN THE SENSE THAT NO TOTAL FIGURE FOR NATIONAL FORCES OF EACH DIRECT PARTICIPANT WOULD BE TABLED, SO THAT THERE WOULD BE NO TABLED FIGURE WHICH THE OTHER SIDE COULD LATER POINT TO AS A LIMIT ON TOTAL NATIONAL FORCES. THIS MIGHT MEET A CONCERN OF SOME DELEGATIONS.

8. CHAIRMAN (JUNG) ASKED WHY THE DUTCH MATRIX DID NOT SPLIT, FOR EXAMPLE, DUTCH FORCES INTO DUTCH FORCES IN NETHERLANDS AND DUTCH FORCES IN FRG. DUTCH REP REPLIED THAT HIS AUTHORITIES THOUGHT THAT WOULD GIVE THE OTHER SIDE TOO GREAT AN IDEA OF MANNING LEVELS OF DUTCH UNITS.

9. BELGIAN REP (CROLLEN) TERMED THE DUTCH PROPOSAL A STEP FORWARD, WHICH BELGIUM WOULD STUDY. (COMMENT: UK REP (JANVRIN) INFORMS US THAT HE HAD A LONG CONVERSATION WITH BELGIAN REP ON MAY 4 IN WHICH HE SOUGHT TO ENCOURAGE THE BELGIANS TO ADOPT A POSITIVE ATTITUDE TO A TABLING OF NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS. BELGIAN REP REITERATED TO UK REP THAT BELGIUM WILL NOT MOVE OUT IN FRONT OF FRG ON THIS ISSUE, BUT CAN MOVE TO THE TABLING OF NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS AS SOON AS THE FRG CAN. END COMMENT.)

9. UK REP WELCOMED THE DUTCH PROPOSAL. HE SAID THERE ARE TWO MAIN QUESTIONS WHICH THE ALLIES MUST ASK THEMSELVES REGARDING THIS PROPOSAL. FIRST, IS IT NEGOTIABLE? THE ALLIES MUST GET ADDITIONAL DATA FROM THE OTHER SIDE IF THE ALLIES ARE TO CONTINUE TO SEARCH FOR THE ROOT OF THE DISCREPANCIES. THE DUTCH PROPOSAL CALLS FOR A LARGE STEP,

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FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3442

SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USMISSION MBFR VIENNA  
USNMR SHAPE BE  
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GER

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AND IF IT DOES NOT ELICIT FIGURES FROM THE OTHER SIDE, ARE WE IN A DEFENSIBLE POSITION AT HOME? SECOND, IF WE RESOLVED THE FIRST QUESTION, AND DECIDED TO GO INTO FURTHER DISAGGREGATION AT THE SAME TIME AS WE TABLE NATIONAL DATA, WE MUST CONSIDER THE POINT MADE BY THE US SEVERAL MEETINGS AGO THAT FUNCTIONAL DISAGGREGATION WOULD LEAD TO SERIOUS PROBLEMS OF DEFINITION.

10. MC REP (GROUP CAPTAIN SMITH) REITERATED THAT THERE WAS NO TECHNICAL WAY TO PINPOINT THE DISCREPANCIES UNLESS WE GET EASTERN NATIONAL FIGURES IN SOME FORM. OTHER KINDS OF BREAKDOWN WILL NOT IN THEMSELVES LOCATE DISCREPANCIES. ALL OF OUR ASSESSMENTS ARE BASED ON NATIONAL FIGURES FOR THE OTHER SIDE. THERE IS NO MILITARY OBJECTION TO FOL-  
LOWING NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS BY FURTHER BREAKDOWNS, AND THERE MAY BE A NEED TO DO SO, DEPENDING ON WHAT NATIONAL FIGURES THE OTHER SIDE TABLES. HE WELCOMED THE DUTCH SUGGESTION, AND THOUGHT THERE MIGHT BE SOME ADVANTAGE IN  
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GOING FORWARD WITH NATIONAL AND SOME OTHER BREAKDOWN TOGETHER.

11. US REP (MOORE) ALSO WELCOMED THE DUTCH EFFORT. HE SAID HE ALSO THOUGHT THAT THE UK REP HAD ASKED VALID QUESTIONS ABOUT THE DUTCH APPROACH. HE NOTED THAT THE US HAS WANTED TO FOLLOW THE TABLING OF NATIONAL BREAKDOWNS BY OTHER BREAKDOWNS, DEPENDING ON WHAT FIGURES THE EAST TABLES, IN ORDER TO PINPOINT SPECIFIC DISCRE-  
PANCIES. THE DUTCH IDEA IS A NEW IDEA WHICH THE US WOULD OF COURSE EXAMINE.

12. FRG REP ASKED MC REP IF IT WERE TECHNICALLY POSSIBLE TO BREAK DOWN WESTERN FIGURES IN THE MANNER SUGGESTED BY THE DUTCH. SMITH SAID THAT IT WAS, BUT THAT THE WEST WOULD HAVE TO DEFINE TO THE OTHER SIDE WHAT WAS INCLUDED UNDER EACH HEADING.

13. US REP ASKED DUTCH REP HOW THE DUTCH WOULD HANDLE AIR MANPOWER, AND THE LATTER REPLIED THAT THEY HAD NOT DECIDED YET. PERHAPS SOME OTHER BREAKDOWN COULD BE WORKED OUT FOR AIR MANPOWER.

14. NO SPC MEETING WILL BE HELD NEXT WEEK BECAUSE IS OFFICIALS AND MANY DELEGATION OFFICERS WILL BE LEAVING

FOR LONDON MINISTERIAL BY CHARTERED PLANE MONDAY MORNING AND WILL BE RETURNING FRIDAY AFTERNOON. NEXT SPC MEETING ON MBFR HAS BEEN SCHEDULED FOR TUESDAY, MAY 17. (NOTE: IF THE US HAS ANY ADDITIONAL MATERIAL WHICH IT WISHES TO CONVEY TO THE SPC BEFORE MAY 17, WE COULD CIRCULATE IT BY LETTER TO ALL DELEGATIONS NEXT WEEK, FOR FORWARDING TO CAPITALS, SO THAT SPC WOULD BE IN A POSITION TO CONSIDER IT AT ITS MEETING ON MAY 17. END NOTE.)

15. COMMENT: WE BELIEVE THAT, TACTICALLY, THE BEST COURSE FOR THE US WOULD BE TO REFRAIN FROM COMMENTING ON THE NEW DUTCH IDEA UNTIL THE FRG HAS COMMENTED ON IT. IN THE  
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UNLIKELY EVENT THAT THE FRG WERE ABLE TO ACCEPT THE DUTCH IDEA, THEN THE FRG WOULD HAVE ACCEPTED THE TABLING OF NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS IN PRINCIPLE. THE US AND OTHER ALLIES WOULD THEN BE ABLE TO CONCENTRATE IN SPC ON WHY THE TABLING OF NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS SHOULD BE A SINGLE, FIRST STEP, AND NOT ACCOMPANIED BY OTHER FORMS OF BREAK-DOWN. IF THE FRG RESISTED ARGUMENTS AS TO WHY NATIONAL TOTALS SHOULD BE A SINGLE FIRST STEP, AND INSISTED ON ACCOMPANYING NATIONAL DATA BY SOME OTHER KIND OF BREAKDOWN, IN ORDER TO "CAMOUFLAGE" OR TAKE THE SPOTLIGHT OFF NATIONAL DATA, THE US COULD THEN CONCENTRATE ON A BETTER ACCOMPANYING BREAKDOWN THAN THE DUTCH FUNCTIONAL APPROACH, WHICH WE DOUBT WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE EAST. IF WASHINGTON AGREES THAT THE US SHOULD AWAIT THE VIEWS OF OTHER ALLIES, PARTICULARLY THE FRG, BEFORE TAKING A POSITION ON THE NEW DUTCH PROPOSAL, THEN WE DO NOT NECESSARILY REQUIRE GUIDANCE ON IT FOR THE MAY 17 SPC MEETING. BENNETT

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